

... Stringfellow and his associates, whose conduct he has defended on the floor of the Senate.

and propose a scheme for holding an election in desolated and depopulated Kansas, framing a new constitution, and admitting the territory into the Union as a State.

The pro-slavery party are evidently frightened. Douglas's little white skin, was violently agitated by letting Kansas into the Union till she had a population of ninety-three thousand, consents that she shall come in with her present population. The Senators who lately saw nothing wrong in the conduct of the Missourians who usurped the powers of a territorial legislature, or in the laws they were passing, are now all of a sudden violently agitated and some of the worst of their provisions.

Mr. Cass, who made an elaborate speech the other day to prove that every thing was right in Kansas, now whimpers out a disapproval of the ordinance crushing the freedom of speech in the territory.

Yet all this is but sewing up the wounds in a dead man. We must have something better than this something life-giving, restoring, resuscitating. The bill which has just passed the House of Representatives, admitting Kansas into the Union, with the constitution framed by its representatives at Topeka, brings Kansas back to life. It takes Kansas in her palmyest days, when she was most flourishing, with her largest population, before her eyes, and she is so much gratified and so well satisfied to seek safety in flight, and admit her into the Union with the constitution which her people then adopted. In that bill is a resurrection from political death. If the Senate has any desire to calm the agitation, which now convulses the Union: if the majority desire to put the slavery question out of the mind and to begin again with a clean slate, for what has happened, and any wish to avoid such scandals for the future, the way is open before them: they have only to pass the bill sent them by the House. It would settle the question at once; it would deprive their political adversaries of a fruitful point of animadversion which is likely to be a source of trouble and agitation for years.

But this bill of Douglas, with all the amendments which the Senators, in the haste of alarm, have suggested and adopted, does but half of the little it pretends to do. It repeals the *test laws* and the penalties against free speech in Kansas. If these laws are so unjust that the interference of Congress is called for to repeal them, how happens it that the same authority does not repeal the release of those who are under arrest for not obeying them? If these laws are so wicked, let the men who are persecuted for disregarding them go free. The bill makes no provision for changing the order of things under which these persecutions have arisen. It leaves still in office the judges, the officials, the military and naval territorial officers, who are pledged to aid in the work of introducing slavery into the territory, and who

shrink from no perversion of their authority which may promote that end. It leaves the entrance of emigrants into the territory from the free States as unsafe and as subject to obstruction as ever. Besides, the effect of the bill, by repealing a part of the act of the spurious legislature of Kansas, is to admit the legality of the rest, and thus to legalize slavery in the territory.

The House of Representatives has done well in passing the bill admitting Kansas with the Topeka constitution, and its duty to abide unflinchingly by that bill is plain. The members who have voted in favor of the bill are entitled to respect a majority, and their fair expression of the public opinion of the territory cannot be bad—which leaves untouched the usurped pro-slavery organization of the territorial government, bending all its strength and using all the means in its power to pervert the elections—under which there is no hope that the people of Kansas can ever be freed, not by the negotiations of a bad government and bad laws, will be allowed to return before the elections.

The country is looking to the House of Representatives to hold fast to its integrity. The friends of Buchanan in the Senate are alarmed at the manifestations of popular feeling on this subject, and will probably yield to a firm demand on the part of the House.

**UNITARIAN CLERICAL COWARDICE.**

At the recent meeting of the Western Unitarian Conference held at Chicago:

Mr. CONANT introduced the following resolution:

Whereas, enormous outrages have been committed against our brethren of the church in Kansas, and one whom we love as a Christian and statesman has been violently stricken down at the Na-

tional Capitol, we heartily respond to the sentiment of the American Christian Association, and adopt the resolutions passed at their late annual session in Boston, with only the change of name to make them our own.

Resolved, That the members of the Western Conference of Unitarian Churches here gathered express their strong indignation in the spirit of the outrages to which the freemen of Kansas have been and are subjected, and likewise our strong sympathy with our brethren in that Territory, in this hour of their oppression and trial.

Resolved, That we who are here present in this meeting of the Western Conference of the Unitarian Churches, do hereby express our hearty sympathy to Senator Sumner, and while admitting his many course, and indignant at the barbarity of the Slave Power which has attempted to silence him by a brutal outrage, we pray that he may soon be restored again to his commanding position of influence before the American people.

Mr. BORDOX, of Peoria, offered the following amendment to the above resolution :

Resolved, That while it is not the province of this meeting to express any political opinion, we nevertheless wish to express our heartfelt sympathy with Senator Sumner, a Christian brother, and our grief and indignation at the outrage committed upon his person while in the discharge of his duties in the Senate of the United States.

Dr. Eliot, of St. Louis, attributed much of the opposition that had sprung up to the wrong course of the war to the persons adopted to banish slavery. He believed it would be difficult, if one were pursued, Missouri would have been a Free State to-day, and he could not help saying if Kansas will ever be a slave State, it would be attributed to another series of mistaken efforts on their part. He appealed to them, if his voice had any weight, to keep the wrong altogether and gentle mode of action, to keep the wrong altogether out of the hands of slavery ; and it was by this means it could be best opposed.

The Reverend gentleman then concluded by stating that when a divided feeling existed in the Conference, any resolution introduced for adoption had no right to be put to the vote.

On motion of Mr. Conant, the resolutions were











## POETRY.

For the Liberator.  
A VOICE FROM NEW ENGLAND TO THE  
SETTLERS IN KANSAS.

BY J. COLLINS.

Freemen! shall the blighting curse  
Slavery fling upon our land,  
Doom to endless toil a race  
Groaning 'neath the oppressor's hand?

Shall each sunny hill and vale,  
In the fair and fertile West,  
Echo from the piercing wail,  
Wrung from many a sable breast?

Shall the birth-right of the free,  
Now in chains and fetters pine—  
And from rolling sea to sea,  
Tell Columbia's sad decline?

Hark! upon the Atlantic shore,  
Where the pilgrim feet once trod,  
Kissing, like the ocean roar,  
Cries for freedom and for God!

Plymouth rock may wear away,  
Washed by the unceasing wave;  
Bunker's pile to dust decay,  
Slowly, o'er the martyr's grave;

'Every mound, and hill, and stream,  
Hallowed in a nation's eyes,  
Lies forgotten like a dream  
When the morning beams arise;

But the free-born spirit still  
Breathes through our immortal veins—  
Still asserts 'th' untrammeled will,  
Spite of Slavery's whips and chains.

From our rude and rocky shore,  
Each snow-crowned mountain height,  
In their strength shall thousands pour  
To maintain a nation's right.

Though the tyrant-master bend  
Down to earth the hopeless slave,  
And his boasted right defend  
From the cradle to the grave;

Though the statement of our age  
Reverent prove to truth and fame,  
Every our historic page  
With the record of their shame;

Let each true New England son  
Shout the watchword of the free—  
Onward! till the fight be won!  
Onward!—Death or Liberty!

When, by Southern breezes fanned,  
Words of proud and angry tone  
Claim a wide-spread virgin land,  
As a home for Slavery's own;

Mid the threatenings of the storm,  
Be it ours to ward the blow,  
While from patriot bosoms warm,  
Echoes wide the answer—NO!

From the Worcester Spy.

## LET THE UNION SLIDE—WHEN.

Fogies may raise their hands, and roll their eyes,  
And Slavery's minions pale with fright,  
And politicians call it most unwise  
For North and South to disunite;

Yet greatly as the compact has been blest,  
Greet as the blessings which abide,  
Ere Slavery shall control it, 'twill be best  
To let this glorious Union slide.

'Tis pleasant for you to have two eyes,  
Than with one to grope about;  
Yet, if thine eye offend, 'twas Christ's advice  
To pluck the plucking optic out;

'Tis better, with a single orb of light,  
To find thy way to regions higher,  
Than 'tis in double vision to delight,  
And enter everlasting fire.

To walk with comfort in this restless land,  
Two feet are surely but enough;  
Yet, if thy foot offend, 'twas Christ's command  
To cut the pestering pedal off;

'Tis better for thee, with a single peg,  
To travel to the world above,  
Than to be aided by the other leg,  
And down to endless ruin rove.

So it is good for North and South to blend,  
If both in righteousness abide;  
But wiser is it, if the South offend,  
To let this glorious Union 'slide'.

With sixteen States 'tis better to pursue  
The path to liberty that leads,  
Than 'tis with thirty to go downwards  
The yawning hell where Slavery speeds.

## LIBERTY.

There is a spirit working in the world,  
Like to a silent, subterranean fire;  
Yet, ever and anon, some monarch, hurled  
Against and pale, attests its fearful ire.

The dunced nations now once more respire  
The keen and stirring air of Liberty;  
The struggling giant wakes, and feels his free;  
By Delphi's fountain cave, that ancient choir  
Resumes their song; the Greek astonished hears,  
And the old altar of his worship rears.

Sound on, fair sisters! sound your boldest lyre,  
Peal your old harmonies as from the spheres!  
Unto strange gods too long we've bent the knee,  
The trembling mind, too long and patiently.

## SUMMER.

BY HON. MRS. NORTON.

This is the time of shadows and of flowers,  
When roads gleam white for many a winding mile,  
When gentle breezes fan the lazy hours,  
And balmy rest repays the time of toil—

When purple bees and shifting beams beguile  
The tedious tedium of the heat-grown noontide,  
When the old grandeur sits, with placid smile,  
The sun-burnt children frolic round his door,  
And trellised roses deck the cottage of the poor.

The time of pleasant evenings, when the moon  
Rises accompanied by a single star,  
And rivals e'en the brilliant Summer noon,  
In the clear radiance which she pours afar—

No stormy winds her hour of peace to mar,  
Or stir the fleecy clouds which melt away  
Beneath the wheels of her illuminated car;  
While many a river trembles in her ray,  
And silver gleams the sands round many an ocean bay.

Oh, the full heart lies hushed, afraid to beat  
In the deep absence of all other sound;  
And home is sought with loath and lingering feet,  
As though that shining track of fairy ground,  
Once lost and lost, might never more be found;

And happy seems the life that gipsies lead,  
Who make their nests where mossy banks abound,  
In nooks where unplucked wild flowers shed their seed,  
A canvas-spreading tent the only roof they need!

## SUMMER.

Then came the jolly Summer, being dight  
In a thin silver cloak, colored green,  
That was unloosed all to be more light,  
And on his head a garland well became

He wore, from which, as he had chafed been,  
The sweat did drip, and in his hand he bore  
A bow and shafts, as he in forest green  
Had hunted late the ibard or the boar,  
And now would bathe his limbs, with laurel-beaded hair.

—S. S. S.

## THE LIBERATOR.

SPEECH OF J. B. SWASEY, ESQ.  
At the Anti-Slavery Meeting at Framingham,  
July 4th, 1850.

PHOTOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY J. M. W. TERRINGTON.

MR. CHAIRMAN:  
I confess to a great feeling of embarrassment in attempting, at this time, to address the meeting. I have been so much busy in my mind any thing worthy of your attention; and I feel especially embarrassed, after the comprehensive and able statements of the last speaker, (Mr. Garrison), to provide any thing further on the great question, so comprehensive and entirely reliable are all the statements made by our friend who has just sat down. But, after all, on the subject which we particularly regard at this time, much preparation seems to be unnecessary. If we be sincere in this cause, our hearts must be full of many things relative to the general discussion. For myself, I feel that, for one, we are called upon, all of us who would be true men, to utter a true word, irrespective of consequences, in regard to the great question of the day. Our lives will be short; our bones will fill nameless graves; and, sir, in talking to our fathers, who, of all the countless multitudes who have gone down to the silence of the tomb, live! What names can stir us to a feeling which arouses us to noble action? The names of those, and those only, who have been true to their convictions of duty, irrespective of consequences. Why, sir, this day, celebrated with so much unmeaning noise, with so little appreciation of the real principles which ought to be illustrated in the celebration,—this day is yet valuable for one thing, and one thing only; that it does indeed show to us the great example of men who did indeed peril every thing for what they deemed to be the right. When our ancestors, eighty years ago, pledged life and honor in vindication of what they believed to be the rights of America; when they, with a gallantry which I wish we could bring to equal, threw themselves into the breach, irrespective of all consequences, that was an act which, as men, we must all honor and venerate. If to-day the men of Massachusetts could be as unselfish, if to-day they were as ready to act upon the appreciation of a principle, and to regard whatever that principle exacted as a thing to be done at all hazards, how long should we go on submitting, and submitting, and submitting, to what we all complain of as usurpation and wrong, injustice and fraud? Why, sir, it is not most unmanly that men of Massachusetts have been so many years complaining, whining, like children, about the injustice of the South, and the usurpations of the government, and the insults put upon our ambassadors and Senators, and yet have done nothing worthy of the language? Our fathers talked, as no other than men of Massachusetts could have talked; but they acted consistently with their language.

In Boston, it seems peculiarly fitting to the city authorities that this day should be celebrated with more than usual éclat, and the City Hall is embellished with various ornaments and mottoes. Among them I read last evening, on the left facade of the building, this:—Right and justice, the safeguards of the Republic! Is there any thing in language more severely ironical than that? 'Right and justice, the safeguards of the Republic!' Then again we had, in another place, in very large characters—'Liberty and Union.' Then again, 'The Constitution and the laws'; and last of all, in great characters, to wind off a sounding period, 'Constitutional liberty, protected by law.' Witness Mr. Sumner! Witness the flames of Kansas! Witness the attempt of Massachusetts to vindicate the right when she sent Mr. Hoar to Charleston! Witness the vessels of Massachusetts seized, perhaps at this moment, by an armed force from Virginia, and compelled to pay a large sum, not for having slaves on board, but because somebody saw fit to search them! Witness the annihilation of the freedom of the press and of speech in one half of the land, and the utter want of security, under the Constitution and the laws, where slavery is concerned! And yet in Boston to-day, as if to insult mankind, we have these mottoes emblazoned in the face of day:—Right and justice, the safeguards of the Republic!—'Constitutional liberty protected by law'!

Mr. Chairman, we have just come to that point at length which the old Romans had reached, when they were satisfied with the forms of a Republic, and a home was made. We, to-day, are satisfied with the forms of a Republic, when we are really little better than slaves. Why, is not Massachusetts, at this moment, a subjugated State, and lying bleeding at the feet of the Slave Power? Is not one vote, one vote, taken out of the Senate-house to-day by violence, and Massachusetts deprived of her constitutional rights in the Senate? Talk of 'Constitutional liberty protected by law'! Why, sir, what is the theory of the Senate? In the Senate, the States are sovereign, by the terms of the Constitutional compact. There the Senators are ambassadors from foreign States; and as such, they are not, even by the usages of barbarous nations, protected from every form of violence? But yet, Massachusetts to-day, in the person of her Senator and ambassador, is conquered, subjugated at the feet of the Slave Power, and she cannot vote or speak on questions that concern the welfare of the country, as constitutionally she has a right to do. I put it to you, sir, that that is a fact, and that, if the citizens of Massachusetts to-day had the spirit of their fathers, they would protest against that Senate passing a single vote, until CHARLES SUMNER sat again in the Senate. (Cheers.) If he were taken away by the hand of God, who should submit; but if one Senator can be taken away from his place by force, may not two or three? And if even one can be stricken down, is it not an invasion of the Constitutional rights of the people? On some close question, an important matter might be determined against us, for want of that one vote. I say, Massachusetts, like Kansas, has been subjugated to the Slave Power, and the men of Massachusetts meet and resolve, just as they did in the case of Texas. O, God! how little Massachusetts has resolved! O, God! how little she has done! Why, sir, we have almost forgotten that that assassin Brooks still sits in the House of Representatives. We have almost forgotten that sixty-eight Southern members of Congress voted against even a Committee of Inquiry. And yet Massachusetts allows her representatives to sit upon the same floor, and take part in the same discussions, and vote on the same questions with these men who deny to her her Constitutional rights! Where are the spirit and sovereignty of Massachusetts? We have neither sovereignty nor spirit. The sovereignty of the State has disappeared beneath the heel of the Slave Despotism. Massachusetts has become a mere municipality. She has neither power nor influence in the government. When the Convention met at Boston to decide the question of adopting the Constitution of the United States, that Constitution was adopted, after a great deal of trouble, by a majority of only nineteen out of three hundred and fifty-five. That majority was obtained—how? John Hancock declared that Massachusetts could do what she would do in Congress; and certain amendments were brought forward, and the objecting members were assured, that if they would sign the proposed articles, they would be carried by the mere weight of Massachusetts; and with that log-rolling, they contrived to get a vote accepting the United States Constitution. Worcester, and all the agricultural counties, gave two or three to one against it, and it was only carried by the sea-board, the commercial towns. Such was the fact; and could we go further, we should find that these sea-board towns had a direct pecuniary interest in the vote which they threw, because they had large claims against the country, and therefore had a direct interest in establishing a government, so that those debts might be paid. But where in Massachusetts to-day among the States? Why, sir, as they say out West, she is 'nowhere'; she is without influence, she is without power.

Well, the cause is simply this: that Massachusetts, for the purposes of trade, in the hope of making money by commerce, and in her desire to build up a great Republic, based on property, shook hands with the South, and agreed that slavery should exist there. The Constitution of the United States did, for the first time in history, distinctly recognize slavery as a legal thing. No where in history can you find any constitution that has put slavery into legal existence by organic act, except here in America. That is what we did—deliberately, and for purposes of selfish aggrandizement; and this introduction of slavery into the organic, fundamental law, has been the root, and is the root, of all our difficulties. Like the broad-spread apple tree, it poisoned the whole atmosphere, and the plants of liberty have, in the shadow of that great wrong, withered and faded away. It could not be otherwise.

Mr. Chairman, I will speak but a few words more. This is the first time I ever came out, on the Fourth of July, and seemed to take a stand against the Constitution and the Union. God knows that, in common with most young men, if there was one thing for which I had respect and reverence, it was the Union. I did believe that the Union would really perpetuate the blessings of liberty. I did believe that under it, notwithstanding the difficulties with regard to the slave question, we should go on prospering, not only materially, but morally, and that the slave question would find an issue. In the old times, this was what was called an anti-slavery Whig. But, Mr. President, it has come to my mind like a conviction, that it is utterly in vain to hope that we can live under such a government as this, with our professions, and with our pretended love of freedom and right. Why, the thing is impossible. There cannot, in the nature of things, be any Union between the principles of liberty and slavery. There never has been any Union, except by the subjugation of the principles of liberty to those of despotism. For one, sir, I believe that the duty of every true man is now to take the ground of secession. [In consequence of the din of cannon and the ringing of bells, at this stage of his remarks, Mr. Swasey declined further speaking.]

## SPEECH OF PARKER PILLSBURY.

MY FRIENDS—This day is one we have often observed in a similar manner, and it is impossible to say any thing specially new. The voices round about us [alluding to the roar of cannon and clanging of bells] are truly significant, and very illustrative of the present standard of the American character, which, I believe, is now, generally, to sacrifice sense to sound. And that pertains about as much to one department of society as another. Certainly, as to politics, the custom is to sacrifice sense to sound; and men generally have come to regard the substitute as rather a desirable one, on the whole. I am sure there is a great deal in what I have heard some religious people say, with regard to their minister. They say, perhaps, he spoke pretty well; but then, he did not have that 'blessed tone' they so much admire! To-day, we only want the 'blessed tone,' and we are having it outside—one the people appreciate and desire. They are satisfied, and perhaps we should be reconciled.

A year ago to-day, I was standing among some of the grand ruins of Great Britain. I visited, with some of my friends,—and, in so far as you are the friends of the slave, some of your friends also,—the ruins of one of the old abbeys of that country, destroyed by command of Cromwell—I mean, Tintern Abbey; and I thought of you and of this country that day, and I felt as if you and I were not altogether unlike in our circumstances. Both of us were standing among ruins; and I felt that my place was the better of the two, for I could admire somewhat the ruins on which I was looking, but I did not know that you could admire the ruins on which you looked. It seems to me that it is time now to reckon our country with what we call the wrecked empire of the world. We speak of the shores of antiquity as being scattered with the wrecks of departed nations and empires; and it seems to me our own nation belongs to the same class, and that some other author, who may write, as the French author did, a volume of 'Ruins,' should include this country with the rest—the most deplorable ruin of them all—just as we most deeply deplore the beautiful youth who is suddenly stricken down by the hand of death. We expect old people and old nations to die; but it is a sad event when youth is untimely cut down and destroyed. Our country appears to me like a beautiful and tolerably well-grown, and yet not developed and matured, youth, and we should be reckoned rather with the dead than the living. I believe our meeting is somewhat green with life. It is said by travellers, that the most beautiful city that grows in Great Britain, grows on the ruins of Tintern Abbey. I look upon our meeting somewhat as the green ivy that is charitably wrapping up and hiding the ruins of our country.

Mr. Chairman, my friend who spoke before me said the sovereignty of Massachusetts has gone. I have said that years ago. To me, it is no more true now than seven or ten years back. I was glad to hear it, however, from a new voice here to-day. I hope it will be the lamentation we shall hear from many voices, until there shall go up a wail so loud that it shall drown these cannon, and the lesser voices of smaller metal that flank them round about on every hand. It seems to me that we should be able to observe this day properly and rightly, should observe it. If there may be any green spot on which the eyes of the mourning prophets and disappointed apostles may fasten, let it be among the Abolitionists; but, I fancy, we are only like the kindly ivy, that wraps the ruins of the old world.

While I was away, there was only one thing that troubled me, so far as the anti-slavery movement went, and that was, that we should make so much of what appeared to me very trifling events. Our friend (Mr. Swasey) alluded to the Republican party; we are constantly alluding to the Republican party; if any such party there be in the political world; but I think we deceive ourselves and the world, by these favorable assurances to that party. Not that I would by any means withhold the just meed of praise for every brave word spoken and every manly deed done; but I think our very commendations give an air of importance to these movements that are exceedingly unfortunate, not to say deleterious to the anti-slavery cause. Suppose some free-soil man does, once in a while, speak kindly—it is nothing to us. The best free-soil man has no kind of appreciation of the anti-slavery movement; if he had, they would not be where they are. Why commend CHARLES SUMNER? I will not say he did not do well; but I think we clothe him and his party with an importance that does not at all attach to them, and I think we weaken our own strength, and somewhat retard the little progress we might make, by giving an air of importance to the most unimportant events that can possibly be conceived. What can the Republican party do towards rescuing this country from its present condition? It does not propose to redeem the slave—no, not a single slave. The germ of the party sprang up from a kind of anti-slavery soil, and its origin was anti-slavery; it demanded the immediate and unconditional emancipation of every slave—not the slaves in the territories or in the District of Columbia, but of every slave; but it has ended with ignoring the cause of the slave altogether. It does not recognize the question of slavery on the soil of America. There is but one anti-slavery plank in its platform, and that has no respect whatever to the millions of suffering slaves. It only proposes to put the country back where it was before the repeal of the Missouri restriction; and, surely, no political party ever yet has done quite what it proposed to do. What, then, is to be expected of this political party, if it succeed,—as succeeded it will not? Where does it leave us? where does it leave the slaves? We ought to say, I think, that that party, wherever it is in the beginning, has been declining, descending, until surely there is but one lower degree into which it can plunge, and that is, the absolute ignoring of the whole question of slavery altogether. While these things are so, I think we ourselves make

mistake, and give a degree of importance to political movements which they never deserved, and which now they deserve less than ever before, by paying so much attention to them. For my own part, I feel as if we have no strength to waste unnecessarily, nothing to throw away in commendations, especially in commendations the tendency and result of which may be, to weaken our own hands; for we have those constantly with us, such as were found in the apostolic age, who may be denominated weak in the faith, and who want only a smile of recognition of political action from the Abolitionists to plunge it, and to their ruin. It is on that account that I think we shall do well if we apprehend the philosophy of our movement, and remember this, that it is not favorably affected by politics at all, and may be very unfavorably affected by them. We have nothing to hope, nothing to expect from them; we may have much at stake, and may lose much.

I do not love controversy well enough to be unnecessarily provoking a quarrel or discussion with any one; but I think our work is just what it would be, if there were no such thing as political action or a political party. Our work is to redeem the heart and conscience of the country; and we have to rescue that heart and that conscience from the spirit of compromise which leads to Republicanism, not to Whiggery or Democracy. Every body must, it seems to me, see that if there be any argument in support of the doctrine of 'total depravity,' it is to be found in the course and character of our churches and the old political parties; so that what we have to do to-day, is to rescue the conscience and heart of the people from that spirit of compromise which goes into the Republican party, and is satisfied. Now this, I think, is true: if the Republican party is useful at all, it is useful as an agitating instrumentality, as a stirrer up of the country, and while it is out of power, it works in that way. While the election of Mr. Banks was pending in Congress, the party was active, was alive; but the moment he was elected, then what came? What kind of a Clerk was appointed? What kind of Committees were appointed? What Congress has more dishonored itself by subservience to the Slave Power than this Congress! And with such a platform as the Republican party has constructed, what could be more unfortunate, so far as the agitation of the country is concerned, than the triumph of that party, inasmuch as it would result in such consequences as have always followed whenever the party has succeeded in any local election? On the other hand, if Mr. Buchanan were elected, the aggressions of slavery would go on; then the agitation would go on; and it seems to me that what we have to do is to seize the present condition of the country, stir up the people, and turn the popular excitement to our account, not to that of Republicanism. The work to be done in our country is continually to rouse up, influence, inspire the people; and it is on that account I would still adhere, as I have ever adhered, to the great moral and religious agitation of the subject, letting the Free Soil party as much alone as they let us alone. And suppose we should do that?—did you ever think of it? We fill our papers with their speeches—which of our speeches gets to the public in the Free Soil papers? I suspect some of our oldest and bravest men are capable of making addresses worthy of being read by the Free Soil party. When have the papers of that party given us their readers? They ignore us altogether; and I think the best we could do would be to ignore them; for by the recognition of them, so continually as we do, we are playing into their hands, to our own loss.

Then we judge a man too much by some one act or speech. CHARLES SUMNER made a brave speech, and the hand of a ruffian was lifted violently against him, and he was smitten down. CHARLES SUMNER's own right hand was lifted against Brooks's slaves, and he had sworn a few months before, that if the slaves of Preston Brooks should rise upon him, and resist his authority, he would assist in causing these slaves down; and if gutta serena would not do it, the sword and bayonet must. ('Hear, hear.') Now, we have a great deal of sympathy for Mr. Sumner, but he had made a bargain with Preston Brooks against his slaves; and if Great Britain—as seems not unlikely just now—comes over and undertakes to free the slaves of the South, Mr. Sumner has sworn that he will aid the slaveholders in preserving the order and the law of the Southern States! Now, our sympathies are not drawn out too much towards Mr. Sumner; I would not love him the less; but I think we would do well to love Brooks's slaves a little more, (loud applause,) and not forget altogether the millions of victims, who, unlike Mr. Sumner, are not loaded with sympathy and honors, but, on the other hand, of whom it may be said, most emphatically, in the lamentation of the old Hebrew, 'On the side of the oppressor there is power; and they have no comfort.' ('Hear, hear.') I fear, Mr. Chairman, we do not appreciate, all of us, the importance of treating things as they are, and calling them by their right names.

Then, again, HENRY WILSON made a very brave defence of Massachusetts, and of the Senator from Massachusetts, in the Senate, and we joined in applauding Senator Wilson. But what have been his antecedents? It seems to me that we have a right to judge him by his life, rather than by one single act. I think it is a historical fact, that he went out of the Free Soil party, when its nominee for Governor, and betrayed the interests of his own party, sold it out to the Know Nothings—and, indeed, I do not know of what political party he has not been a member. Now I do not say that to censure Senator Wilson, but only to call your attention to the fact that we are too much in the habit of judging men by some one word or act. Some of you have been carrying on this anti-slavery warfare for five and twenty years, and I think the course of the Abolitionists has been a uniform course, and you have brought the movement out of, or, at least, through much tribulation. These men now, at the end of a quarter of a century, find it easy, comparatively, to be Abolitionists; but then I do not think they 'bring forth fruits meet for repentance.' I do not find any very friendly recognition of our movement in the Republican papers, religious or political. It is not very long since I saw in one of the principal religious organs, the noble leader of our movement (Mr. Garrison) described, with some others, as 'a degraded infidel.' ('Hear, hear.')—And it is not very long since I saw it stated in another leading Free Soil paper, (the Hartford Courant,) that the Republican party is the white man's party, and the editor says he has no fancy for the African race;—he is willing they should be slaves. That sentiment, I think, is one generally entertained by the great body of the new auxiliaries of the Republican party, and is, in the time of the Buffalo platform, all the broken-down politicians, the disappointed office-seekers, and the entire collection of forgotten and disappointed ones, rush in and endeavor to make as good a salvage as possible;—and through our help many of them succeeded in the Buffalo platform, and they will now. But what became of those men who supported the Buffalo platform? I think at that time they gave Martin Van Buren 270,000 votes; but, four years after, they could muster only 163,000 for John P. Hale, on a little higher platform. I judge men by not one act, but by their whole lives. I should be sorry to be judged myself by any one act of my life, for I should fear that some one very good act might be taken, and then I should be thought better of than I deserve, or else that some one extremely bad act would be taken, and then I fear I might be underrated even by my best friends and worst foes both.

It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, we would be well for us not to allow our sympathy for CHARLES SUMNER, I know that it is honorable and complimentary to human nature, that it rises at such a time, like the ocean in a storm, to flood tide,—but I think it would be well for us not to allow that sympathy by and to turn and deluge ourselves. It is on that account I have felt obliged to make the few remarks I have; and I think I may surely say, in sitting down, that what I have said has come rather from the heart than from the head.

THE BARONS FENK. The National Intelligencer speaks as follows of Judge Crawford's judgment, in regard to Brooks's assault upon Mr. Sumner:—'Touching the judgment of the Court, we are bound to say that it has certainly fallen short of the public anticipation—not the anticipation, still less the wish, of partisans or zealots, but of the calm and judicious—men who are capable of respecting the wounded sensibilities of a high-spirited gentleman, not less than public decorum and immunity of the Senator and the Senate house.'

From the Washington Star, July 9th.  
THE ASSAULT UPON MR. SUMNER.  
Hon. P. S. Brooks appeared before Judge Crawford at 10 o'clock this morning, to answer to the charge of assault upon Senator Sumner. Mr. Brooks was accompanied by Senator Butler, and a number of other friends.  
The District Attorney appeared for the United States, and John A. Linton, Esq. and Hon. Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, for defence.  
The District Attorney read the correspondence that had passed between Senator Sumner and a letter from Mr. Sumner, dated Silver Spring, June 30th, in which he expressed his inability to attend on the day assigned for the trial; a letter from the District Attorney to Mr. Sumner, stating that witnesses were in waiting from a distance, who were anxious to be examined, and enquiring what day his health would permit him to appear, and if he would be willing to accept the proposition of defendant's counsel, to submit the case upon the evidence before the House Committee; a letter from Mr. Sumner in reply, expressing surprise at the communication of the District Attorney; the case, directly or indirectly, that the whole case belonged to the Attorney of the United States; a letter from Mr. Key, replying that through the conduct of the case belonged to the Attorney of the United States, he did not suppose that in any case the desire of a public prosecutor to confer with and consult the wishes of the injured party would excite surprise; that having received no answer to his offer, the trial would proceed on the 8th of July, at which time he hoped that Mr. Sumner would be able to attend; a letter from Mr. Sumner that he would not probably be able to attend at that time, and reiterating his desire not to take any part in the proceeding.  
The examination of witnesses was then entered upon.

Wm. V. Leader, James W. Simonson, the Hon. L. M. Keitt, Senator Pearce, Senator Toombs, Dr. Boyle, Dr. Lindsey, and Senator Benjamin were examined, the evidence being substantially the same as that elicited before the Congressional Committee.  
Senator Benjamin testified to Sumner's speech having been printed in advance of its delivery. Senator Toombs, while on the stand, at the request of the counsel for the defence, read from the speech of Mr. Sumner the portion attacking Senator Butler and South Carolina.  
The evidence being concluded, Mr. Brooks rose, and the thronged Court-room listened in absolute silence, while he proceeded to address the Court, as follows:  
'May it please your Honor: May I be permitted to say a word? [Judge Crawford—Certainly.]—I appear in person before this honorable Court simply to receive its judgment. I would have preferred that the person upon whom the assault was committed should not appear before me, whether or not his speech, which labelled my State and blood, was printed before its delivery in the Senate. I feel confident that under oath he could not have denied this fact, which, with due deference to your Honor, I regard as material to my defence, inasmuch as a libel is contrary to law, and to that extent would operate in criminal cases as a bar to his testimony. I would like to have enquired of him, in person, as to the degree of his personal injuries, and to have been informed in what way he could reconcile that part of his statement as to the words used by me when the assault was made, with the sentence which immediately succeeds this language in his testimony before the Investigating Committee, and which is as follows:  
'While these words were passing from my lips, he commenced a succession of blows with a heavy cane on my bare head, by the first of which I was stunned so as to lose sight.'

'It would have gratified me had he been compelled to answer under oath as to the violence of the first blow, which, I aver, was but a tap, and intended to put him on his guard. But, sir, he is conveniently and deliberately absent and on travel, notwithstanding that but six days ago this case was postponed on account of his extreme indisposition, and the materiality of his testimony; and yet, with all these disadvantages, I prefer to receive the judgment of the Court, than to continue in suspense. It is not my purpose to address any defence in defence. I have already accomplished more than half the journey of life, and this is the first time it has been my misfortune to be arraigned before any judicial tribunal as a breaker of any law of my country. I confess, sir, and without shame, that my sensibilities are disturbed by my novel position, and I have but to express my profound regret that, in discharging a duty imposed upon me by my own sense of right, and the sentiment of the gallant people to my pride and honor, I have incurred the consequences of a consequence to approach you as a violator, and not as a maker of the laws.  
'In extension of my offence, permit me to say that no extraordinary power of invention is requisite to imagine a variety of personal grievances, which the good of society, and even public morality, require to be suppressed; and yet no adequate legal remedy may be had. So regard to the case, which may fall under the condemnation of the letter of the law, and yet like considerations will restrain its penalties. The villain who perverts the best feelings of the better sex, and rewards unrepentant devotion with ruin, may bid defiance to this honorable Court, but where a sister's dishonor is blotted out with the blood of a brother, an intelligent and wholesome public opinion embodied in an intelligent and virtuous jury, always has, and always will, control the law, and popular sentiment will applaud what the books may condemn. It is the glory of the law that it is founded in reason. But can that reason be just and true, which is based on a broken law, and which knows better than yourself, that such a law, which may fall under the condemnation of the letter of the law, and yet like considerations will restrain its penalties. The villain who perverts the best feelings of the better sex, and rewards unrepentant devotion with ruin, may bid defiance to this honorable Court, but where a sister's dishonor is blotted out with the blood of a brother, an intelligent and wholesome public opinion embodied in an intelligent and virtuous jury, always has, and always will, control the law, and popular sentiment will applaud what the books may condemn. It is the glory of the law that it is founded in reason. But can that reason be just and true, which is based on a broken law, and which knows better than yourself, that such a law, which may fall under the condemnation of the letter of the law, and yet like considerations will restrain its penalties. The villain who perverts the best feelings of the better sex, and rewards unrepentant devotion with ruin, may bid defiance to this honorable Court, but where a sister's dishonor is blotted out with the blood of a brother, an intelligent and wholesome public opinion embodied in an intelligent and virtuous jury, always has, and always will, control the law, and popular sentiment will applaud what the books may condemn. It is the glory of the law that it is founded in reason. But can that reason be just and true, which is based on a broken law, and which knows better than yourself, that such a law, which may fall under the condemnation of the letter of the law, and yet like considerations will restrain its penalties. The villain who perverts the best feelings of the better sex, and rewards unrepentant devotion with ruin, may bid defiance to this honorable Court, but where a sister's dishonor is blotted out with the blood of a brother, an intelligent and wholesome public opinion embodied in an intelligent and virtuous jury, always has, and always will, control the law, and popular sentiment will applaud what the books may condemn. It is the glory of the law that it is founded in reason. But can that reason be just and true, which is based on a broken law, and which knows better than yourself, that such a law, which may fall under the condemnation of the letter of the law, and yet like considerations will restrain its penalties. The villain who perverts the best feelings of the better sex, and rewards unrepentant devotion with ruin, may bid defiance to this honorable Court, but where a sister's dishonor is blotted out with the blood of a brother, an intelligent and wholesome public opinion embodied in an intelligent and virtuous jury, always has, and always will, control the law, and popular sentiment will applaud what the books may condemn. It is the glory of the law that it is founded in reason. But can that reason be just and true, which is based on a broken law, and which knows better than yourself, that such a law, which may fall under the condemnation of the letter of the law, and yet like considerations will restrain its penalties. The villain who perverts the best feelings of the better sex, and rewards unrepentant devotion with ruin, may bid defiance to this honorable Court, but where a sister's dishonor is blotted out with the blood of a brother, an intelligent and wholesome public opinion embodied in an intelligent and virtuous jury, always has, and always will, control the law, and popular sentiment will applaud what the books may condemn. It is the glory of the law that it is founded in reason. But can that reason be just and true, which is based on a broken law, and which knows better than yourself, that such a law, which may fall under the condemnation of the letter of the law, and yet like considerations will restrain its penalties. The villain who perverts the best feelings of the better sex, and rewards unrepentant devotion with ruin, may bid defiance to this honorable Court, but where a sister's dishonor is blotted out with the blood of a brother, an intelligent and wholesome public opinion embodied in an intelligent and virtuous jury, always has, and always will, control the law, and popular sentiment will applaud what the books may condemn. It is the glory of the law that it is founded in reason. But can that reason be just and true, which is based on a broken law, and which knows better than yourself, that such a law, which may fall under the condemnation of the letter of the law, and yet like considerations will restrain its penalties. The villain who perverts the best feelings of the better sex, and rewards unrepentant devotion with ruin, may bid defiance to this honorable Court, but where a sister's dishonor is blotted out with the blood of a brother, an intelligent and wholesome public opinion embodied in an intelligent and virtuous jury, always has, and always will, control the law, and popular sentiment will applaud what the books may condemn. It is the glory of the law that it is founded in reason. But can that reason be just and true, which is based on a broken law, and which knows better than yourself, that such a law, which may fall under the condemnation of the letter of the law, and yet like considerations will restrain its penalties. The villain who perverts the best feelings of the better sex, and rewards unrepentant devotion with ruin, may bid defiance to this honorable Court, but where a sister's dishonor is blotted out with the blood of a brother, an intelligent and wholesome public opinion embodied in an intelligent and virtuous jury, always has, and always will, control the law, and popular sentiment will applaud what the books may condemn. It is the glory of the law that it is founded in reason. But can that reason be just and true, which is based on a broken law, and which knows better than yourself, that such a law, which may fall under the condemnation of the letter of the law, and yet like considerations will restrain its penalties. The villain who perverts the best feelings of the better sex, and rewards unrepentant devotion with ruin, may bid defiance to this honorable Court, but where a sister's dishonor is blotted out with the blood of a brother, an intelligent and wholesome public opinion embodied in an intelligent and virtuous jury, always has, and always will, control the law, and popular sentiment will applaud what the books may condemn. It is the glory of the law that it is founded in reason. But can that reason be just and true, which is based on a broken law, and which knows better than yourself, that such a law, which may fall under the condemnation of the letter of the law, and yet like considerations will restrain its penalties. The villain who perverts the best feelings of the better sex, and rewards unrepentant devotion with ruin, may bid defiance to this honorable Court, but where a sister's dishonor is blotted out with the blood of a brother, an intelligent and wholesome public opinion embodied in an intelligent and virtuous jury, always has, and always will, control the law, and popular sentiment will applaud what the books may condemn. It is the glory of the law that it is founded in reason. But can that reason be just and true, which is based on a broken law, and which knows better than yourself, that such a law, which may fall under the condemnation of the letter of the law, and yet like considerations will restrain its penalties. The villain who perverts the best feelings of the better sex, and rewards unrepentant devotion with ruin, may bid defiance to this honorable Court, but where a sister's dishonor is blotted out with the blood of a brother, an intelligent and wholesome public opinion embodied in an intelligent and virtuous jury, always has, and always will, control the law, and popular sentiment will applaud what the books may condemn. It is the glory of the law that it is founded in reason. But can that reason be just and true, which is based on a broken law, and which knows better than yourself, that such a law, which may fall under the condemnation of the letter of the law, and yet like considerations will restrain its